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Chapter 1, Some Sociolinguistic Observations on the Relationship Between Czech and Slovak

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SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CZECH AND SLOVAK[1]

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[The nature of the relationship between Czech and Slovak has been the subject of many arguments, and a number of different theories have been advanced to account for it. In this paper, the problem is viewed from three perspectives: (1) historical provenience, (2) sociolinguistic function, and (3) attitudes of members of the Czech- and the Slovak-speaking linguistic communities. The conclusion reached is that literary Slovak is to be considered as a separate language serving a distinct Slovak nation.]

0. Considering the fact that Czechoslovakia lies in the heart of Europe rather than near the headwaters of the Amazon, and that in the world of linguistic scholarship it has ranked for decades among the great powers, one is astonished by how little is known about the languages of Czechoslovakia outside the country where they are spoken. Leaving aside the quite common impression of the educated layman that Czech is "very much like the German" (a comment which in the form of a question I have heard a great many times), the wide-ranging estimates of the numbers of native speakers of Czech and Slovak, and the cavalier use of the term "Czech" by this country's leading newspapers to include over four million Slovaks living in Czechoslovakia--one meets with a great deal of confusion even in respected linguistic textbooks.

Thus, according to Bloomfield (1933:61; his italics), "Bohemian juts out westward as a kind of peninsula into the domain of German.... The Bohemian area, divided on the basis of standard languages, into Czech and Slovak, comprises perhaps 12 millions of speakers..."; Bloomfield further uses the questionable term "Bohemian" [2] several times when, linguistically speaking, the proper term should have been "Czech," [3] and to confuse the reader still further, in the combination "Bohemian-Slovak" (p. 44). Gray (1939:355; his italics) states that "[the] Western group consists of Polish...and Czecho-Slovak (formerly called Bohemian)." And Gleason (1961:459; his italics) speaks of "Czech and Slovak (dialects of one language), and Serbo-Croatian (with its two written languages, Serbian and Croatian)." Similar examples of widely varying usage, reflecting a general uncertainty concerning the nature of the relationship between Czech and Slovak, could very easily be multiplied.

The issue, to my knowledge, has not yet received adequate consideration in English, and some clarification is clearly long overdue. Since the literature touching on this subject, in both Czech and Slovak, is quite extensive, the present treatment does not attempt to go beyond a general survey and the bibliography is correspondingly selective. Moreover, the discussion of this paper is restricted to Czech and Slovak insofar as they have been spoken on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia or its historical antecedents. Excluded from consideration are Czech-speaking communities in Romania, Slovak-speaking communities in Yugoslavia, and the many other Czech and/or Slovak concentrations outside the mother country. Rather than being just a matter of convenience, this limitation of the scope has the virtue of keeping the setting of the relationship between Czech and Slovak from becoming too variable and thus obscuring the primary focus of this investigation.

Those who might wish to seek authoritative information in the many respected sources of Czech and Slovak scholarship would find themselves even more perplexed concerning the status of and the relationship between Czech and Slovak. On the one hand, there have been attempts to approach the problem solely from the position of historical linguistics. This approach has been vitiated by questions which plague linguistic taxonomy to the present day: At which point do two related speech forms cease being dialects and become separate languages? And, how does one weigh the various diagnostic features of a language so as to assign it properly to one of several potential language groups? The other extreme approach has had a narrowly political motivation, the underlying question being that of nationhood--whether the Czechs and the Slovaks are to be

considered one joint or two separate nations. Taking this approach, the nature of the linguistic relationship is determined simply by the choice of the preferred alternative. Today, when the propriety of scientists' speaking on issues of political import is hotly debated, the history of the Czech-Slovak relationship is a timely reminder that even linguistics is not exempt from this vexing question.

Our discussion below will examine the problem from three perspectives: historical provenience, sociolinguistic function, and attitudes of members of the Czech- and the Slovak-speaking linguistic communities. Because these perspectives, while in theory independent of each other, have been variously merged and even confused in the many debates concerning the relationship, it is not feasible to employ them singly, one at a time. Instead, our procedure will be to discuss the historical and political setting first, the major theories concerning the Czech-Slovak relationship next, and finally to examine this relationship in recent practice. But first it seems appropriate to survey briefly some of the fundamental differences between Czech and Slovak.

There is reason to believe that during the tenth century the various dialects of Czech were much more homogeneous than the Slovak dialects. Among the latter, Central Slovak must have been developing separately in its phonology from the West and East Slovak dialects, which maintained a greater proximity to Czech. But despite this somewhat special position of central Slovak, there is fairly general agreement that as a linguistic community all of the Czech and Slovak dialects contrasted with the northern subgroup of West Slavic dialects, sometimes referred to as the Lechitic (Lekhitic) subgroup (see Figure 1).

Viewed historically, the Slovak dialects turn out to be generally more conservative in their phonological development than the dialects of Czech.[4]

In morphology, literary Slovak is characterized by a lesser variety among declensional suffixes and by the presence of a terminal -m in the first person singular of all verbs (cp. Czech nesu 'I carry' with Slovak nesiem). On the whole, the operation of analogy and the tendency toward simplification have been more extensive throughout the Slovak inflection than in Czech.[5]

In the lexical domain, Czech has served literary Slovak as a major source of enrichment--as, for example, French has served to enrich English. This influence has been attested for as early as the fifteenth century, but the largest number of borrowings go back to the last century, e.g., časopis 'periodical, journal,' časovanie 'conjugation,' dojem 'impression,' dusík 'nitrogen,' kyslík 'oxygen,' nárečie 'dialect,' pojem 'concept,' rastlina 'plant, herb,' účel 'purpose,' veda 'science,' vkus 'taste,' zámer 'design, device,' and others. During this time, numerous Czech lexical items were also introduced by Slovak poets--for example, A. Sládkovič, S. H. Vajanský, P. Országh-Hviezdoslav, and J. Jesenský: kázeň 'sermon,' listopad 'November,' lože 'bed,' ľúbezný 'pleasing,' podzim 'autumn,' stezka 'path,' túha 'longing, desire,' and others.[6] Even today, colloquial Czech is an important source for the expressive Slovak lexicon: báječný 'fabulous,' kravina 'nonsense, stupidity,' prachy 'dough (money),' prima 'excellent,' and others.

In general, words designating items of older material culture and relating to family life, agriculture, pastoralism, crafts, and the like

draw on native resources, particularly the Central Slovak dialects. In these semantic domains, lexical differentiation between Czech and Slovak appears to be at its greatest. Vocabulary pertaining to spiritual culture, the sciences, and technology largely parallels the Czech. Besides these two lexical layers, there are in Slovak words of German, Romanian, East and South Slavic, but particularly Magyar origin, e.g., gazda 'farmer' (gazda), gunár 'gander' (gúnár), kefa 'brush' (kefe), vankúš 'pillow' (vánkos), and others.

Some of the borrowing went in the other direction--from Slovak into Czech--for example, výdobytek 'attainment,' železničář 'railroader,' and others. Both older and modern Czech writers have occasionally reached into the Slovak lexicon, but for the most part the words have not caught on; among those which did is the expressive otecko 'father,' introduced by Alois Jirásek and nepřestajný 'incessant,' found in the writings of Božena Němcová and, more recently, Jan Drda. The present meaning of the common Czech term hostinec 'inn, tavern, restaurant' is due to Slovak influence (beginning of the nineteenth century). On the whole, however, due to the long dependence of the Slovaks on literary Czech, the lexical traffic has been largely in one direction.

1. Before examining the most important views concerning the relationship between Czech and Slovak, it may be helpful to review the linguistic history of the Czech and Slovak territory and the changing political setting in which the debate has taken place. Roughly speaking, three periods mark the history of the issue:

(i) from the unsuccessful attempt by Bernolák (1787, 1790) to establish a literary standard for Slovak until the founding of the

Republic of Czechoslovakia at the end of World War I;

(ii) the two decades of the First Republic (1918-1938); and

(iii) from the beginning of World War II in 1939 until the present.

In order to provide the subsequent discussion with relevant historical background, it is necessary to go back a full one thousand years to the period of the Great Moravian Empire, which roughly encompassed the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia. Although by this time Latin liturgy had reached the area, an event of the highest cultural significance occurred in the sixties of the ninth century when the first missionaries to the Slavs, Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, brought Old Church Slavonic from the Byzantine Empire to serve as the language of religious writings. In contrast to the completely foreign Latin, Old Church Slavonic was readily susceptible to the influences of the local Slavic dialects to which it was closely related, and it appears that it soon came to be considered as a supradialectal literary vehicle. The importance of Old Church Slavonic diminished after the collapse of the Great Moravian Empire at the beginning of the tenth century, and by the end of the eleventh it was completely replaced by Latin. However, the literary tradition established by Old Church Slavonic served as a stimulus in the eventual establishment of Czech as the literary language of local provenience. The fall of the Great Moravian Empire marked the beginning of the long separate historical development of both its western part, later to become established as the Bohemian kingdom, and its eastern part, the present-day Slovakia, which at the beginning of the eleventh century became an integral part of the Hungarian state.

The beginnings of literary Czech date back to the eleventh century when occasional Czech words began to be inserted marginally or inter-

linearly into Latin manuscripts, but full-fledged literary works in the Czech language did not appear until the end of the thirteenth century. In the course of the next hundred years, literary Czech reached an astonishing maturity and assumed all of the demanding functions heretofore filled by Latin. In contrast, as a result of the marginal status of Slovakia within the Hungarian state and the fact that there developed no significant political or cultural center on Slovak territory, no local dialect assumed the function of a literary language. Thus, because of its proximity to Slovak dialects, Czech was already serving as the literary language of Slovakia by the fifteenth century, along with the established Latin, German, and Magyar. Among the factors which contributed to this development were the influence of the university at Prague, where some of the sons of the Slovak nobles and well-to-do burghers went to study; the eastward spreading of the Hussite movement; and political shifts which at times brought the Czechs and the Hungarian state closer together. During the Reformation, literary Czech acquired a solid position in Slovakia; it was not considered to be a foreign language, but a cultivated supradialectal form of the local speech. Good evidence for this is the not infrequent reference to literary Czech as the "Slovak language." What is more, beginning in the sixteenth century there appeared in Slovakia distinct tendencies toward viewing all of the Slavic inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia as one common nationality. The strong influence of the lofty language of the Czech Kralice Bible [Bible kralická] fostered the prime position of Czech as the literary language of Slovakia during the seventeenth century; in fact, the high humanist standards embodied in this Bible

were maintained on Slovak soil even while Czech was experiencing its long period of decline following the loss of Bohemian independence to the Hapsburgs in 1620. On the other hand, the considerable increase in literacy beginning during the sixteenth century brought about an ever-growing incidence of Slovakisms, particularly in administrative and legal documents. Slovakization of the literary language was also strongly noticeable in the Catholic literary production which was in the service of the Counter-Reformation.

The center of this activity became the university in Trnava, founded by the Jesuits in 1635. Their spoken usage, the so-called "Jesuit Slovak [jezuitská slovenčina]," based on Czech and the local Slovak (primarily West Slovak) dialects, was later extended to their writings as well. However, the first considered attempt to establish a Slovak literary language was not made until the end of the eighteenth century.

1.1. Having first justified the need for a separate literary Slovak language (1787), Anton Bernolák set down its grammatical norm in a comprehensive treatise (1790). He used "Jesuit Slovak" as his point of departure, bringing it closer to the West Slovak and in part also to the Central Slovak dialects.[7] But after some initial success, Bernolák's Slovak [bernolákčtina] was slowly abandoned. One of the reasons was the fact that even before Bernolák's publications the Jesuit university had been moved from the Slovak Trnava to the Hungarian Buda, thus losing much of its importance as a cultural center for the Slovaks; furthermore, the Slovak Protestants never ceased writing in the language of the Kralice Bible.

Conditions were ripe for the establishment of literary Slovak when the second attempt was made by L'udovít Štúr (1846a, 1846b). By this time Slovak national consciousness had been awakened, while the prestige of Czech had correspondingly waned because of the long political separation of the two peoples. Štúr's Slovak, derived from the Central Slovak dialect, probably reflected the growing cultural and economic importance of central Slovak cities. Somewhat modified orthographically by Michal Miloslav Hodža and Martin Hattala, it was accepted in 1851 even by the followers of Bernolák's version, and went on to become the basis of the literary Slovak used to the present day. There were those who felt that the Slovak cause could best be served by a return to a literary language held in common with the Czechs when, during a wave of concentrated magyarizing efforts in the seventies, Slovak secondary schools were closed and Matice slovenská, a new focal point of Slovak national aspirations in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, was abolished. But despite such setbacks, literary Slovak not only survived, but began experiencing vigorous growth nurtured by the works of a young generation of talented Slovak writers. The older Czech view considered this development an artificial separation [odluka]; today, the emergence of literary Slovak is uniformly regarded as the natural by-product and culmination of the formation of Slovak nationhood. [8]

1.2. The second period was characterized, on the one hand, by a vigorous development in Slovak educational facilities, publishing activity, theater, and the like, and on the other, by a growing cultural rift between the generally belittled Slovaks and the self-confident and economically far stronger and richer Czechs.

Among the new laws designed to regulate the legal status of the ethnic components of the First Republic was constitutional law no. 122, the so-called "language law [jazykový zákon]," issued on February 29, 1920.[9] This law set forth the concept of a Czechoslovak linguistic unity, according to which there existed only one language common to both Czechs and Slovaks, the Czechoslovak language [jazyk československý], which consisted of two literary (standard) versions, Czech and Slovak. By a declaration making it the "state" and "official" language, Czechoslovak was accorded legal primacy among the languages spoken by sizeable German, Magyar, Ukrainian, and other minorities of the republic. According to the law, Czech and Slovak enjoyed full equality; thus an oral request or written application made to the authorities in the Czech language was considered to have been fully and adequately acted upon even if it was transacted in Slovak, and vice versa. An appended statement made it explicit that it was not the intent of the law to prejudge the nature of the relationship between the two languages or to settle the "literary and philological controversy as to whether Czech and Slovak are separate languages or two different dialects of one and the same language." However, to classify them as being two separate languages clearly was bound to have political implications considering the fact that the legal construct of a Czechoslovak language was closely linked to the parallel, but prior, concept of a unitary Czechoslovak nation, or people [československý národ], to which the preamble to the country's constitution made categorical reference.

For the majority of Czech scholars and a number of Slovak and foreign supporters of so-called Czechoslovak national unity during this period, there could be "not the slightest doubt that Slovak represents a speech form which in its genetic affiliation, origin, as well as development, is identical with Czech, together with which it constitutes a single whole called the Czechoslovak (or Czech) language" (Trávníček 1935: 17; his emphasis).[10] Or, to quote from the address of the prominent Czech Slavicist Miloš Weingart at a 1925 teachers' convention in Slovakia, "There can be no argument concerning the fact that the term 'Czech language'...subsumes all of the language phenomena throughout the entire Czechoslovak national territory, that is to say, even Slovak" (Weingart 1932: 59; his italics).

Voices urging an open and considered view of the problem were relatively few. Notable among them was a distinguished linguist of an older generation, Josef Zubatý, who insisted that the discussion of the nature of the relationship could not be restricted to linguistic factors alone but must take into account historical factors as well as the political and cultural context. Moreover, he ventured to suggest that, in a sense, the problem was specious and "insoluble" (Zubatý 1922).[11]

The language law notwithstanding, Slovak proved to be at a noticeable disadvantage in the early years of the new republic. Its technical and administrative terminology was not as well developed as it was in Czech; more important, the Czechs considered their culture--their language and literature especially--to be clearly superior to that of the Slovaks, and some of the overt manifestations of this feeling came to be deeply resented in Slovakia. Thus, while many state schools in the Czech-speaking

territory bore the designation "Czech," throughout Slovakia the legal term "Czechoslovak" was emphasized and even enforced by the sizeable contingent of Czech bureaucrats who had gone there to meet the unsatisfied demand for administrators and teachers. The double standard is evident from the following quotation from Weingart, who could hardly be charged with chauvinism: "[The Slovaks] are asking...that Slovak language and literature be taught in Czech secondary schools in the Czech-speaking portions of the country in the same measure as Czech language and literature are taught in Slovakia, and conversely. But surely one cannot apply a purely quantitative yardstick in this matter and say, for example, that the same number of classroom periods should be devoted to Slovak studies in Bohemia as to Czech studies in Slovakia: after all, there is great disparity not only in the subject matter but in cultural and social worth as well.... In this matter one cannot expect complete parity. If on the contrary both Slovak and Czech literature are accorded <u>in Slovakia</u> approximately the same amount of time, it is in fact a concession to local interests and Slovak needs...."(1932:65; Weingart's italics). And several paragraphs earlier, "To introduce a special designation on [official] forms (for example, school reports) or a separate subject of study, 'Slovak language,' would amount to no less than paving the way for legal dualism in our state and undermining its very foundations" (1932:62). No wonder that the sensibilities of the Slovaks were hurt and that out of their sense of inferiority there arose feelings of increasing nationalism, this time directed against Czech cultural imperialism.

1.3 The last period was ushered in by the Munich dictate of 1938, as a result of which Czechoslovakia was forced to cede nearly a third of its territory, most of it to Germany. Exploiting the weakness of the crippled republic, the Slovaks pressed for and received considerable autonomy. And when on March 15, 1939, the German troops began occupying what was left of the First Republic, Slovakia had already proclaimed itself an independent state (on March 14), albeit at the instigation and under the protection of the Third Reich.

One of the crucial problems which the restored republic faced following World War II was a more equitable relationship between the Czechs and the Slovaks. The solution was the constitutional arrangement of Czechoslovakia as a unitary state of Czechs and Slovaks on a basis of the equality and individuality of both nations (1948). The second postwar constitution, of July 11, 1960, which changed the official designation of the republic to "The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic," reasserted this relationship: "The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a unitary State of two fraternal nations possessing equal rights, the Czechs and the Slovaks." [12] At the same time, a move in the direction of more centralized control of the republic was made by the abolition of the Slovak board of commissioners. A reversal of this trend was marked by the establishment during Dubček's era of a commission to make Czechoslovakia a federated republic, with greater rights given to the Slovaks. The federation was implemented on January 1, 1969: Czechoslovakia became a federal state, comprising the Czech Federal Republic and the Slovak Federal Republic, with the responsibilities of the federal government limited to defense, foreign

affairs, the interior, planning, finance, foreign trade, and labor and welfare. At the time of this writing, some tendencies toward centralization have begun to be felt again. In sum, then, the Slovak position vis-à-vis the Czechs became considerably strengthened during this period. Coincidentally with it, many Czechs have come to regard such a development as a questionable return on what they consider the high investment made in the Slovak economy to bring it to their own level.

2. The nature of the relationship between Czech and Slovak has been viewed from a variety of positions. The most important theories will now be summarized.

2.1. The theory of early separation. According to this view Slovak, though more closely related to Czech than to any other Slavic language, has had a long separate history, thus meriting equal status with the other Slavic languages. This theory was put forth as early as 1826 by Pavol J. Šafárik, and subsequently was strongly urged by Štúr (1846a), who endeavored to show that Slovak is "vlastnuo nárečja, ktoruo je od Českjeho odchodnuo a rozd'jelno [a language in its own right, separate and different from Czech]." Toward the end of the century, the Russian linguist Florinskij (1897) attempted to substantiate this theory, provoking dissenting reactions from several eminent contemporary Czech linguists, Pastrnek (1898) and others. In more recent times, the theory of divergent development was held by the Hungarian linguist Melich (1929), who tried to show that by the ninth century, Czech and Slovak were already "two different languages." Some weaknesses in Melich's argument were pointed out by Šmilauer (1929). Subsequently, a similar view was vigorously argued by Bartek, whose contention it was that "since the time of the breaking up

of Proto-Slavic...Slovak and Czech have not formed a unified whole, because they have not shared a common development" (Bartek 1943:342).

2.2. The theory of South Slavic affiliation. According to this theory, Slovak is a separate language, most closely related to, and a member of, the South Slavic group of the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages. The most vigorous proponent of this view was the Slovak linguist Czambel, who hypothesized that Slovak originally derived from the South Slavic linguistic community and only later acquired some of the characteristics which it shares with Czech (1906). The Magyars in particular welcomed Czambel's view: any weakening of bonds between the Slovaks and the Czechs was indirectly of aid to their policy of centralization and Magyarization. Other scholars pointed to South Slavic parallels in the Central Slovak dialect, implying either South Slavic influence on Central Slovak or considering this dialect as a speech form transitional between the West Slavic and the South Slavic groups. [13] Trávníček (1927:95) pointed out that in the "psychological atmosphere" on incipient Slovak national awakening, an emphasis on the independence from Czech of the young literary Slovak language would have helped to lend it much needed prestige. Subsequently Trávníček (1935), among others, pointed out that the principal difficulty with much of the presumed evidence for this view is one of chronology. Today, no one seriously argues against the primacy of the Czech-Slovak linguistic relationship.

2.3. The theory of the special status of Central Slovak. According to this view, both the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to one--Czecho-slovak--linguistic community, within which, however, the speakers of

the Central Slovak dialect possess a somewhat independent status. This argument was advanced by the Slovak linguist Novák (1935), who held that the territory in which Slovak proper evolved needed to be narrowed down to central Slovakia, while its western and eastern parts should be considered as belonging linguistically with the historic Czech-speaking area.

2.4. The theory of linguistic unity. In this view, all of the Slavic dialects spoken by either Czechs or Slovaks belong to one linguistic complex that can best be designated as the Czechoslovak language. As has been already shown, this was, by implication, the "official" view during the First Republic. Thus, Hujer (1934) discussed the development of the Czechoslovak language in the excellent encyclopedia dealing with Czechoslovakia, and Trávníček wrote his detailed historical grammar of the Czechoslovak language (1935). There were even those who went so far as to advocate the merger of Czech with Slovak, to be planned and directed by philologists, writers, and journalists. One of the proponents, Antonín Frinta, suggested that the phonological and grammatical differences between Czech and Slovak could be equitably resolved in favor of one or the other, with an occasional coining of an intermediate form.[14]

2.5. The contemporary theory of two separate languages. This view, which had its roots in Slovakia during the First Republic, is not so much concerned with the issue from the position of historical linguistics; it simply takes it for granted that Czech and Slovak are two separate and coequal languages. Since the special proximity of Czech and Slovak among the Slavic languages is implicitly accepted, this view is but a variant of the theory of early separation (2.1). As early as the 1930s, a tendency became evident among a number of young Slovak linguists to

direct the future development of literary Slovak in a direction away from Czech. The center of these efforts became the journal Slovenská reč (1932-), a puristic monthly which frequently rejected even respectable old Slovak words for no other reason than their close similarity to Czech. The peak of Slovak purism was reached in 1940 when a new revision of the official Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu [Rules of Slovak orthography] condemned many of those synonyms in the Slovak vocabulary which had a close Czech parallel. Thus eliminated or labeled as "incorrect" were, for example, pilný 'diligent' (Czech pilný), schôdza 'meeting' (Czech schůze), and tužka 'pencil' (Czech tužka), while recommended or permitted were usilovný, schôdzka, and ceruzka, respectively. All of these restrictions were lifted in the postwar revision of the Pravidlá in 1953, which took a much broader view of the needs of the Slovak language. By this time, of course, the relationship of the Czechs and Slovaks had been constitutionally redefined as that of two coequal nations, and consequently the prewar construct of a Czechoslovak language had been abandoned. However, it was not until Stalin's appearance on the linguistic scene (1950) that this concept received its final blow.

As has already been mentioned, Trávníček, without doubt one of the most knowledgeable students of the Czech language, was a vigorous proponent of Czechoslovak linguistic unity during the First Republic. After Stalin's contribution to the linguistic debate in the Soviet Union, it was no other than Academician Trávníček again who, in no uncertain terms, embraced the view of two separate languages, though not before a short but passionate fling with Marrist linguistic

theories,[15] resolutely condemned by Stalin himself. In an article published in 1953, with light and perfunctory self-criticism hidden in the body of its text, Trávníček hammered away at the point that the concept of the Czechoslovak language "originated as the direct echo of a reactionary theory, the ideology of a unitary Czechoslovak nation created by our ruling bourgeoisie for the sole purpose of protecting its exploitative class interests" (1953:28). And further, "even if Slovak were the same language as Czech, one could not argue on that basis alone that the Czechs and the Slovaks are one nation. After all, as Stalin says, 'The Englishmen and the North Americans speak the same language and yet they do not form one nation. And the same is true of the Norwegians and the Danes, and of the Englishmen and the Irish'" (1953:30; Trávníček's italics). Whatever shortcomings Stalin may have had, linguistics turned out to be one of his more solid achievements; yet it is an eloquent testimony to the atmosphere of the fifties that the final word on the relationship between Czech and Slovak was spoken in the birthplace of the Prague Linguistic Circle under such circumstances.

The last few years saw further hardening of the separation. Thus, in the anticipation of the federalization of the republic, Ružička (1968), on behalf of L'udovít Štúr's Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, proposed to supplement the Czechoslovak constitution by a "law concerning Slovak" as follows:

"The Law Concerning Slovak

1

Slovak is the national language of the Slovaks and is one of the fundamental marks of the Slovak nation.

Literary Slovak forms an essential component of our national culture.

2

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Slovak, just as Czech, bears the function of a state language.

The use of Slovak as the basic official language is binding in all sectors of Slovak public life.

3

The entire Slovak society is responsible for the destiny and high standard of the Slovak language.

All Slovaks are expected to further the development of the Slovak language, defend and assert its rights, make use of its literary standard in schools as well as in public and official dealings, and abide by its rules and care for its advancement." [16]

3. The discussion of whether translating from Czech into Slovak, and conversely, is necessary and useful began even before World War I. At the time the majority of concerned Czech and Slovak intellectuals were against translating. They were convinced that the best way to become acquainted with the culture, and especially the literature, of a closely related people is through the original language and that the few difficulties which reading in the other language poses can be overcome with a minimum of effort. With the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic in 1918, circumstances changed substantially--schools were to assume the task of acquainting students with the other official language of the country. But their efforts were at best halfhearted and therefore quite inadequate. More and more translations began to appear.

After World War II, the question came up once again. At one of the conventions of the Československá společnost, a lengthy discussion of the problem resulted in the recommendation that only plays and children's literature should be translated, while poetry and prose should remain in the original. Other proposals included suggestions concerning the publication of citations from the speeches of the president, ministers, and other high officials of the government (that these should be printed in the language in which they were given) and concerning contributions to scholarly and literary journals (that they be printed in the language of the contributor) (Gregor 1952). These guidelines had little effect on actual practice, however, because in theory it is difficult to argue against translating from one language to another, regardless of their proximity. The course of development can best be seen from the fact that by 1960 no less than some three hundred works, both scholarly and literary, had been translated from Slovak into Czech (most of them after 1948) and, in order to improve the quality of translations, two discussion seminars were organized in 1960--one for translators from Slovak into Czech, the other for translators from Czech into Slovak (Jedlička 1961). Finally, the first Slovak-Czech dictionary appeared in 1967,[17] with a Czech-Slovak counterpart approaching publication. The recently published volume on folk culture, in a representative encyclopedic series dealing with Czechoslovakia, may serve as a concrete example of current practices. The entire volume is in Czech, the contributions of the twenty-four Slovak ethnographers on their own folk culture having been translated from the original Slovak in spite of the fact that the encyclopedia is to serve the entire Czechoslovak public.[18]

Another view of the relationship between Czech and Slovak is afforded by an examination of recent practices concerning the standardization of technical nomenclature. Bělič (1962) and Peciar (1962) argue that given the close economic and industrial ties between the Czechs and Slovaks, and their linguistic proximity, corresponding technical terms in the two languages should be as closely parallel as possible. Yet the fact remains that Czech terminological work has scarcely concerned itself with its implications for Slovak. Thus, the closest Slovak equivalent of the Czech designation for the "uniform farmers' cooperative," jednotné zemědělské družstvo, can only be jednotné rol'nícke družstvo because there is no cognate of the Czech adjective zemědělský in Slovak. Had the Czech designation been jednotné rolnické družstvo, with exactly the same meaning, the existing terminological discrepancy would have been avoided.

On the Slovak side of the ledger, one still meets with some tendency to select a noncognate Slovak word even if a parallel Czech cognate is available. Thus, the nearly obsolescent term točovka 'lathe' has been recommended instead of the widely used sústruh, which parallels Czech soustruh. As we have already seen, this tendency has been conditioned by the deep-seated reaction against the implicit primacy of Czech. There is little doubt that in contact situations Czech has been and will continue to be sociolinguistically the stronger partner. But it is equally true that the large majority of the Czechoslovak intellectual community believes that there should be no deliberate attempt either to bring literary Slovak closer to Czech or to promote its diverging from Czech.

It is not easy to determine the degree of mutual intelligibility between Czech and Slovak without using some quantitative means to measure it. However, it is indisputable that the two literary languages and their various dialects stand so close to each other in all of their major features that communication between their speakers proceeds quite effectively without any prerequisites. Accordingly, both languages are used alternately in radio and television newscast and in newsreels, as well as in the military service and the like. This fact no doubt explains the relatively low incidence of active Czech-Slovak bilingualism, with the exception of those individuals who have lived for many years surrounded by speakers of the other language, and correspondingly a very low incidence of code-switching.[19] The most marked lexical differences exist primarily in the semantic category of common concrete referents; e.g., for Slovak topánky 'shoes' Czech has boty or střevíce, for bielizeň 'laundry' it has prádlo, etc. However, such a situation may be expected to obtain wherever there exists dialectal differentiation (compare, for example, the regional and local words 'skillet,' 'spider,' and 'creeper,' used in our Eastern states for 'frying pan (of cast iron).'

Thus, while the extent of mutual intelligibility definitely places Czech and Slovak in one general linguistic community, the rising demand for and the availability of translations seems to reflect the tendency toward sociocultural apartness.

In the course of my field research on value orientations among the Czechs and Slovaks in 1969, I also investigated the attitude of the Slovaks toward Czech and of the Czechs toward Slovak. For this purpose, a separate questionnaire was appended to the main instrument dealing with values, in Czech or in Slovak depending on the nationality of the responding subject.[20]

Summary of results for the Slovaks. Question no. 3: When you listen to the radio or watch television, or when you see a newspaper, magazine, or book in which some parts are written in Slovak and others in Czech, do you listen to or read the part that is in Czech? Responses: always, 35%; usually or frequently, 23%; sometimes, 25%; rarely, 12%; never, 5%.

Question no. 4: Do you think that Czech should be taught in Slovak schools to a greater extent [than it is now]--about as much as English, Russian, and other languages? Responses: yes, 7%; no, 93%. The most frequent justification for the negative response was the comment, invited in writing, that Czech was so closely related to Slovak that to teach it would be superfluous, taking time from more useful instruction in another language.

Question no. 5: In your opinion, are Czech and Slovak two different, though related, languages, or are they two dialects of the same language, raised to literary status? Responses: two different languages, 77%; two literary forms of the same language, 23%. Here, no doubt, the self-identification of the Slovaks as a distinct nation played a major part in their choice of answer, considering their response to the previous question.

Question no. 6: Would you consider buying an interesting book written in Czech? Responses: yes, 84%; no, 16%. According to the comments made, an important factor here was the greater selection of technical books available in the original Czech and the greater availability of Czech translations from other languages. A number of those

questioned remarked that considering the facility with which they read Czech, the degree of their interest in the subject matter and the quality of the work were more decisive criteria than the language (Czech or Slovak) of the text.

In response to questions no. 1 and no. 2--Which languages other than your mother tongue did you study in school? and Which languages did you study or come into contact with outside of school?--Czech, almost without exception, was not listed at all. Clearly, it is not considered a foreign language.

In ranking eight languages--Czech, English, French, German, Latin, Magyar, Polish, and Russian--according to importance, Czech received a significant number of votes for fifth through eighth place (question no. 7). In ranking these same eight languages according to the difficulty in learning them (question no. 8), with very few exceptions Czech was considered to be the easiest.

The self-evaluation by the subjects with respect to their facility with Czech (question no. 9) turned out as one would have expected: a great majority of them considered their ability to understand and read Czech as "very good," while ability to speak and write in Czech was judged by a majority as "good," closely followed by the judgement of "fair."

Summary of results for the Czechs. [The text of the questions is, mutatis mutandis, the same.] Question no. 3: always, 17%; usually or frequently, 23%; sometimes, 30%; rarely, 20%; never, 10%.

Question no. 4: yes, 17%; no, 83%.

Question no. 5: two different languages, 65%; two literary forms of the same language, 35%.

Question no. 6: yes, 86%; no, 14%.

Questions no. 1, no. 2, no. 7, and no. 8 elicited among the Czechs responses nearly identical to those obtained from the Slovaks. In question no. 9, ability to speak and write in Slovak was judged by most Czechs as only "fair," closely followed by the judgment of "good." For reading and understanding, the great majority rated themselves as "very good."

The comparison of results for the Czechs and Slovaks (see Table 1) does not reveal any significant differences. What slight variations there are tend to confirm one's overall impression of the nature of the relationship: lesser dependence on the Slovak media by the Czechs (question no. 3); somewhat greater tolerance by the Czechs, probably reflecting greater self-confidence (question no. 4); somewhat greater reluctance to grant literary Slovak an equal status (question no. 5); and lesser willingness to make the effort to speak and write in Slovak (question no. 9).

4. The aim of these observations has been to show how historical, linguistic, legal, psychological, political, and other factors all may contribute to the rise and resolution of the taxonomic problem of linguistic relationship. The major theories of the nature of the relationship between Czech and Slovak have been reviewed against the historical setting in which they were advanced. The present consensus concerning this relationship may be summarized as follows:

Standard (literary) Slovak is the younger of the two West Slavic

	Question No.														
	1	2	3					4		5		6		7	8	9
			always	usually or frequently	sometimes	rarely	never	yes	no	different though related languages	two literary dialects	yes	no			
the Slovaks on Czech			35	23	25	12	5	7	93	77	23	84	16			
the Czechs on Slovak			17	23	30	20	10	17	83	65	35	86	14			

Table 1

[Results of polls in percent.]

literary languages which have developed in the Czechoslovak territory. Phonologically, grammatically, and in part also lexically, it derives from the Central Slovak dialect. If one were to apply linguistic criteria alone--historical development and mutual intelligibility--Czech and Slovak would have to be considered as being much more closely related to one another than either of them is to Polish, Russian, or any other Slavic language, thus relegating their differences to a dialectal status. But overriding this consideration have been the consequences of historical events which politically separated the Czechs and the Slovaks for a full millennium. As a result, the two peoples have come to establish sufficiently separate cultural identities to assert them even within a joint state. Correspondingly, it seems appropriate to apply sociocultural criteria to the nature of their linguistic relationship and to speak of two languages, Czech and Slovak, each with a standard and life of its own. It was the establishment of the Slovak literary language in the middle of the last century that marked the establishment of full-fledged Slovak nationhood: the two are conjoined and cannot be considered in isolation.

NOTES

[1]An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, held in San Diego in November 1970, as a contribution to a symposium on "Limits of Integration: Ethnic Communities in Pluralistic Nation-States."

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[2]The term "Bohemian" can be usefully employed in the sense of the German böhmisch, that is, with a geographical or historical reference (e.g., Bohemian rivers, Bohemian glass, Bohemian Germans, or Bohemian kings), reserving the term "Czech" (German tschechisch) to designate the institutions and the ethnic or linguistic specificity of the Czechs (e.g., Czech customs or Czech dialects).

[3]Thus, on p. 100, when discussing the apical trill ("rolled" r), Bloomfield notes that "Bohemian distinguishes two phonemes of this type, the one accompanied by a strong friction sound." He is referring to the sound written in Czech as ř, as in Dvořák, which developed during the thirteenth century in Czech but never in Slovak.

[4]Among the principal differences between modern literary Czech and Slovak, but not necessarily between all dialects of Czech and Slovak, are the following (here represented in the standard orthographies):

Czech has long í for the older ie, as in míra 'measure';	Slovak has ie (miera);
Czech has a or ě after labial consonants (b, m, p, v) for the original ě, as in maso 'meat,' pata 'heel,' svatý 'holy,' pět 'five';	Slovak has ä (mäso, päta, svätý, pät');
Czech has long á or long é, as in žák 'pupil, student,' mléko 'milk';	Slovak has, following the so-called soft consonants, ia or ie (žiak, mlieko);
Czech has long ů for the older uó < ó, as in kůň 'horse';	Slovak has ô [uo] (kôň);
Czech has e for the former o or ŏ, as in orel 'eagle,' ten 'that';	Slovak has e or o (orol, ten);
Czech has ě after labial consonants (b, m, p, v), as in běžet 'to run,' měsíc 'moon, month,' pěna 'foam,' věc 'thing';	Slovak has e (bežat', mesiac, pena, vec);
Czech has ej for the original aj of the same syllable, as in vejce 'egg';	Slovak has aj (vajce);
Czech has i or í for the older u or ú when following soft consonants, as in jih 'south,' řítit se 'to dash forth';	Slovak has u or ú (juh, rútit' sa):
Czech has e, ě, or í by umlaut from the original a when following soft consonants, as in duše 'soul,' sklánět 'to bend,' přítel 'friend';	Slovak has a or ia (duša, skláňat', priatel');

Czech has both r and ř, as in rok 'year,' tři 'three';	Slovak has only r (rok, tri);
Czech has z for the older dz ⟨ dj, as in mezi 'between';	Slovak has dz (medzi);
Czech tolerates long vowels in successive syllables, as in bílý 'white.'	Slovak shortens the vowel of the second syllable (biely).

[5] A comparison among literary Czech, Slovak, and the supradialectal spoken form of Czech used for casual communication ("common Czech" [obecná čeština]) indicates that in grammatical features of high frequency (x), literary Czech and Slovak agree noticeably (Skalička 1962):

	Literary Czech	Slovak	Common Czech	
	velká	vel'ká	velká	'large (fem.)'
	stojím	stojím	stojím	'I stand'
	beru	beriem	beru	'I take'
	spí	spia	spějí	'they sleep'
	chlapy	chlapmi	chlapama	'chap, guy (plural case form)'
(x)	dobrý	dobrý	dobrej	'good'
(x)	dobrého	dobrého	dobrýho	'good (case form)'
(x)	okno	okno	vokno	'window'
(x)	ženami	ženami	ženama	'woman (plural case form)'
(x)	který	ktorý	kerej, kterej	'which'
(x)	jablko	jablko	japko	'apple'
	abychom	aby sme	abysme	'so that we...'
	druzí	druhí	druhý	'others'
	péci	piect'	pect	'to bake'

[6] Among the early loanwords were, for example, cítit' 'to sense, feel,' pekný 'pretty,' and tisíc 'thousand'; had they developed on Slovak soil, one would expect *cútit', *päkný, and *tisiac.

Some of the later borrowings were, of course, themselves loanwords in Czech: thus, časopis and dusík are loan translations from the German Zeitschrift and Stickstoff, and věda 'science' was borrowed from the Polish wiedza 'knowledge.'

Many of the poeticisms have not become established in either the modern spoken or literary Slovak.

[7] The sources of Bernolák's literary Slovak are discussed by Habovštiaková (1958) and the influence of Czech specifically by Habovštiaková (1962).

[8] An excellent discussion by a linguist of the slow and indistinct development of Slovak nationhood may be found in Pauliny (1958).

The development of Slovak nationhood is also the theme of the recently published proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Slovak Historians, held in Banská Bystrica in 1965 (Mésároš 1969).

A detailed, albeit somewhat out-of-date account of the history of literary Slovak up to the time of Štúr may be found in Pražák (1922).

[9] For sources concerning the "language law," see Horáček (1931) and Weyr (1931).

[10] This quotation and all of the other quotations from original Czech or Slovak sources appear in my translation.

[11] Bělič (1955:46) credits Zubatý with closely approaching the Marxist scientific viewpoint and quotes Stalin's contention (1950) to the effect that one cannot study a language apart from the society which

employs it. Only in the context of postwar Soviet linguistics could Stalin's dictum possibly have been considered a "discovery."

[12] Chapter I, "The Social Order," Article 1 (2); quoted from The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (3rd ed.; Prague, 1964), p. 17.

[13] Among the similarities is, for example, the occurrence in Slovak of the syllables la- and ra-, as in laket' 'elbow,' vlani 'last year,' rakyta 'sallow (willow),' and ražeň 'spit (for roasting meat),' as against the corresponding Czech lo- and ro- in loket, vloni, rokyta, and rožeň.

[14] A discussion of Frinta's proposal, with sharply critical comments, may be found in an unsigned review article published in Naše řeč (1922) 6:148-54. But characteristically the review ends with the expression of hope that "the fateful linguistic breach between the Czechs and the Slovaks may become closed [by natural development] and the former unity of the literary language once again established."

[15] "The new Soviet linguistic school [Marrism] is of supreme importance for the future development of linguistics because it is leading linguistics from the blind alley in which it has found itself, opening up new research possibilities and avenues, and placing new significant tasks before the field" (Trávníček 1950:5).

[16] The fundamental theses underlying the proposed "law concerning Slovak" are explored in greater detail in Ružička (1967).

[17] This dictionary (Gašparíková and Kamiš 1967) is the first nondifferential dictionary of the two languages. Several small differential

dictionaries have already been published and a comprehensive Czech-Slovak differential dictionary is currently being prepared by L'. Štúr's Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. However, it is of interest to note that, on the whole, thorough lexical confrontation between Czech and Slovak has thus far not been undertaken.

[18] Československá vlastivěda, Vol. III: Lidová kultura (Prague, 1968).--When I commented on this discriminatory treatment to my Slovak colleagues, it was explained to me that they were unable to have their contributions published in the original. The reasons, presumably, were economic, the market for the volume being by far the greater among the Czechs.

[19] What other code-switching there is can be dismissed as negligible and symbolic. Thus, when talking to my Slovak colleagues on their home grounds, I might use the word raňajky instead of the Czech snídaně 'breakfast' in an otherwise Czech sentence. Any attempt on my part to try to switch more fully to Slovak, or by my Slovak friends to Czech, would tend to impede rather than facilitate communication. However, it must be said in fairness that educated Slovaks have a greater familiarity with Czech that do the Czechs with Slovak.

[20] The results of the value orientations study may be found in Salzmann (1970). This monograph also contains a detailed discussion of the bias of the sample, which may be defined as "best representing the white-collar population with well-above-average education between the ages of 18 and about fifty (that is, those born or brought up between the end of World War I and the early fifties)" (1970:33).

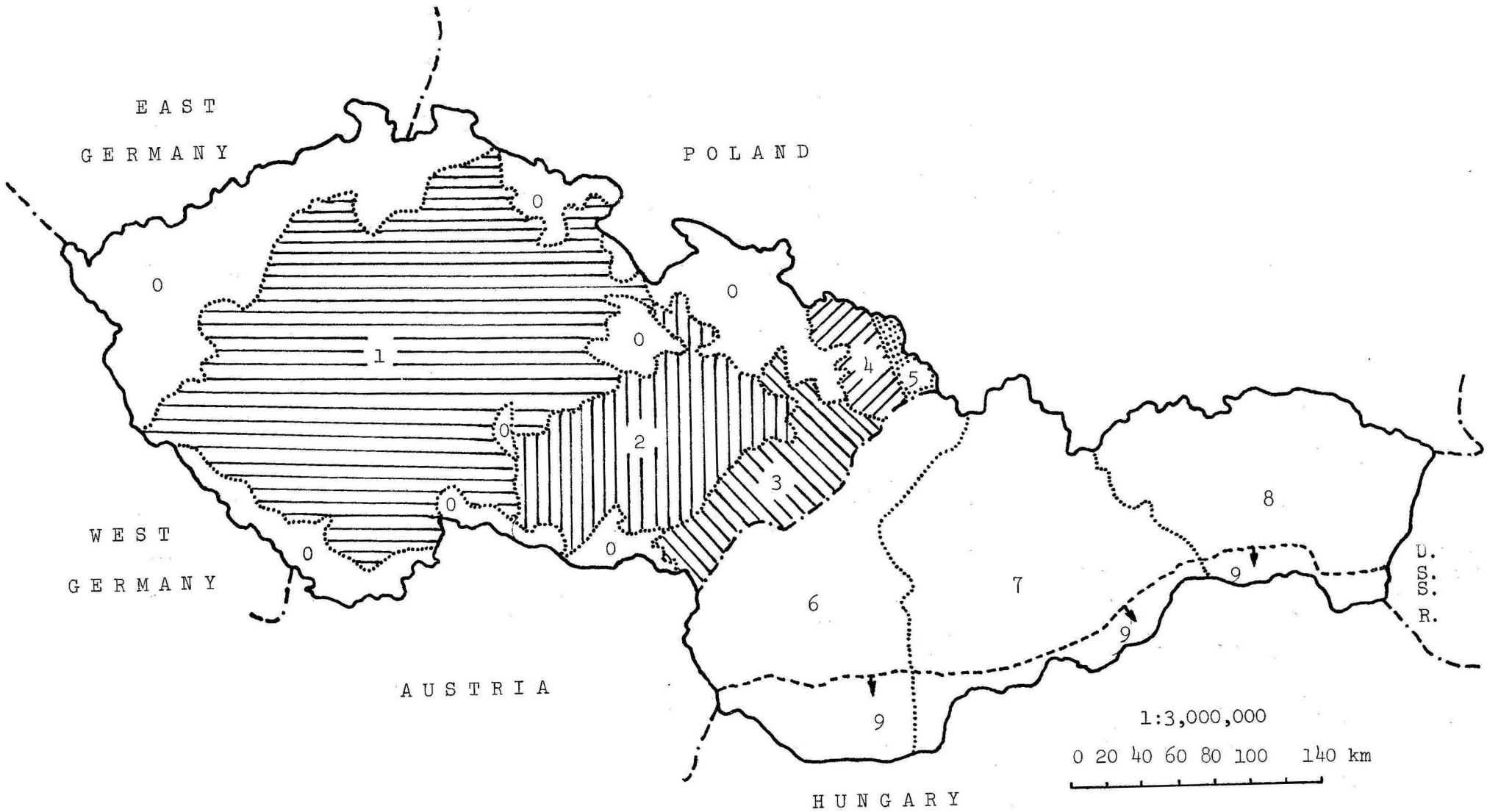
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Figure 1

[Figure 1]

Within the Indo-European language family, Czech and Slovak belong to the Western group of the Slavic branch. Within the West Slavic group, Czech and Slovak belong to the Czech-Slovak subgroup, contrasting with the northern Lechitic (Lekhitic) subgroup, which today includes Polish and Kashubian, and the intermediate Sorbian subgroup, with Low and High Sorbian (Wendish).

According to Vladimír Srb, Demografická příručka 1966 (Prague, 1967), there were 14,158,697 inhabitants in Czechoslovakia in 1965, of whom 9,222,563 were of Czech nationality and 4,079,398 of Slovak nationality. These figures have not changed substantially since then.

This map (after Bělič 1968) represents the present distribution of the main dialects spoken in the territory of Czechoslovakia.

Legend

— — · — — } international boundaries

— · — · — boundary between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic

0 regions of dialectal mixture (of postwar origin, resulting from the transfer of Germans to Germany and the resettlement of the regions by a Czech-speaking population from various parts of the republic)

1 Czech dialects in the narrow sense

2 Central Moravian dialects of Czech (Haná dialects [hanácká nářečí])

3 East Moravian dialects of Czech

4 Silesian dialects of Czech [slezská (lašská) nářečí]

5 dialects of the mixed Polish-Czech zone

6 West Slovak dialects

7 Central Slovak dialects

8 East Slovak dialects

· · · significant numbers of Magyar-speaking population

9

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